AN

# ESSAY

Towards the Present and Future

# PEACE

OF

# Europe,

BY THE

Establishment of an *European*

Dyet, Parliament,

Or Estates.

*Beati Pacifici.*

*Cædant Arma Togæ.*

*London*, Printed in the Year, 1693.

DEVONSHIRE HOUSE
Friends Reference Library.
BISHOPSGATE WITHOUT E.C.

# TO THE READER

I *Have undertaken a Subject that I am very ſenſible requires one of more ſufficiency then I am Maſter of, to treat it, as in Truth it deſerves, and the groaning ſtate of* Europe *Calls for: But ſince Bunglers may Stumble upon the Game as well as*

*Masters, tho it belongs to the Skilful to hunt and katch it, I hope this Essay will not be charged upon me for a fault, if it appear to be neither Chimerical nor Injurious, and may Provoke abler Pens to improve and perform the design with better Judgment and success. I will say no more in Excuse of my self for this undertakeing, but that it is the fruit of many solicitous thoughts, for the Peace of* Europe,

*and*

*and they must want Charity as much as the World needs Quiet, to be offended with me for so* Pacifick *a Proposal. Let them censure my Management so they Prosecute the advantage of the design; for till the* Millenary Doctrine *be accomplished, there is nothing appears to me, so beneficial an expedient to the Peace and Happiness, of this quarter of the World.*

## Sect. 1.

# OF PEACE, And its Advantages.

HE must not be a Man, but a Statue of Brass or Stone, whose Bowels do not melt when he beholds the bloody Tragedyes of this War, in *Hungary*, *Germany*, *Flanders*, *Ireland* and at Sea: The Mortality of sickly and languishing Camps and Navys

Navys and the mighty Prey the Devouring Winds and Waves have made upon Ships and Men ſince 88. And as this, with reaſon, ought to affect human Nature, and deeply Kindred, ſo there is ſomething very moveing that becomes Prudent Men to Conſider, and that is the vaſt Charge that has accompanied that Blood, and which makes no mean part of theſe Tragedyes: Eſpecially if they deleberate upon the uncertainty of the War that they know not when nor how it will end, and that the expence cannot be leſs and the hazard is as great as before. So that in the Contraries of Peace we ſee the beauties and benefits of it; which under it (ſuch is the unhappineſs of mankind we are to apt

apt to nautiate as the full Stomach loaths the Honey Combe; & like that unfortunate Gentleman that having a fine and Good Woman to his Wife, and searching his pleasure in forbidden and less agreeable company, said, when reproacht with his neglect of better Injoyments, that he could love his Wife of all Women, if she were not his Wife, tho that Increased his obligation to Prefer her. It is a great mark of the Corruption of our Natures, and what ought to humble us extreamly, and excite the exercise of our Reason to a Nobler and Juster sence, that we cannot see the use & pleasure of our Comforts but by the want of them: As if we could not Taste the Benefit of Health, but by the help of sickness; nor under-

stand

ſtand the ſatisfaction of fulneſs without the Inſtruction of want; nor finally know the Comfort of Peace but by the Smart and Penuance of the Vices of War: And without diſpute that is not the leaſt Reaſon that God is pleaſed to Chaſtiſe us ſo frequently with it. What can we deſire better then *Peace*, but the *Grace* to uſe it? *Peace*, Preſerves our Poſſeſſions: we are in no danger of Invaſions; our Trade is free and ſafe, and we riſe and lie down without anxiety. The Rich bring out their hoards, and employ the Poor Manufactors: Buildings and divers Projections, for Profit and Pleaſure go on: It excites Induſtry, which brings Wealth, as that gives the means of Charity and Hoſpitality, not the

loweſt ornaments of a Kingdom or Common-Wealth. But War, like the Froſt of 83. Seires all theſe Comforts at once; and ſtops the Civil Channels of Scciety. The Rich draw in their ſtock, the Poor turn Souldiers, or Theives, or Starve: No Induſtry, no Building, no Manufacture; little Hoſpitality or Charity; but what the Peace gave, the War Devours. I need ſay no more upon this head, when the Advantages of Peace and Miſchiefs of War are ſo many and ſenſible to every Capacity under all Governments, as either of them prevails. I ſhall Proceed to the next point, *what is the beſt means of Peace*, which will conduce much to open my way to what I have to Propoſe.

Sect. 2.

## Sect. 2.

## *Of the Means of Peace, which is* JUSTICE *rather then War.*

AS *Justice* is a Preserver, so it is a better Procurer of Peace then War. Tho' *Pax queritur bello*, be an usual saying, *Peace is the end of War*, and as such, it was taken up by O. C. for his Motto; yet the use Generally made of that expression shows us that Properly and truly speaking, men seek their Wills by War, rather then Peace, and that as they will

will Violate it to obtain them, ſo they will hardly be brought to think of Peace, unleſs their appetites be ſome way gratified. If we look over the Storys of all times, we ſhall find the Aggreſſors generally moved by Ambition; the Pride of Conqueſt and greatneſs of Dominion, more then Right. But as thoſe *Leviathans* appear rarely in the World, ſo I ſhall anon endeavour to make it evident they had never been able to devour the Peace of the World, and engroſs whole Countries as they have done, if the Propoſal I have to make, for the beneſit of our preſant Age, had been then in practice The Advantage that *Juſtice* has upon War is Seen by the ſucceſs of *Embaſſys*, that ſo often prevent War by hearing

hearing the Pleas and Memorials of Justice in the Hands and Mouths of the wronged party. Perhaps it may be in a good degree owing to Reputation, or Poverty, or some perticular Interest or conveniency of Princes and States as much as Justice; but it is certain, that as War cannot in any sence be Justified, but upon Wrongs received, and Right upon Complant, refused; so the Generality of Wars have their rise from some such Pretention. This is better seen and understood at home, for that which prevents Civil War in a Nation is that which may prevent it abroad, viz. *Justice*; and we see, where that is notably obstructed, War is Kindled, between the Magistrates and People in perticular Kingdoms

doms and States; which, however it may be unlawful on the ſide of the People, we ſee never fails to follow, and ought to give the ſame caution to Princes as if it were the Right of the People to do it: Tho I muſt needs ſay the remedy is almoſt ever worſe then the diſeaſe; the Aggreſſors ſeldom getting what they ſeek, or performing, if they prevail, what they promiſed; and the Blood and Poverty that uſually attend the enterpriſe, weigh more on Earth as well as in Heaven then what they loſt or ſuffered, or what they get, by endeavouring to mend their Condition, comes to: Which diſapointment ſeems to be the Voice of Heaven, and Judgment of God againſt thoſe Violent attempts. But to return,

return, I say *Justice is the means of Peace*; betwixt the Government and the People, and one Man and Company and another. It prevents strife and at last ends it: For besids shame or fear to contend longer, he or they being under Government, are constrained to bound their desires and resentment with the satisfaction the Law gives. Thus *Peace* is maintained by Justice, which is a fruit of Government, as Government of Laws from Society and Society from consent.

Sect. 5.

## Sect 3.

# Of GOVERNMENT, *its rise and end under all Models.*

GOvernment, is an Expedient against Confusion; a Restraint upon all Disorder; Just weights and an even Ballance: That one man may not Injure another, nor himself by Intemperance.

This was at first, without controversy, *Patrimonial*, and upon the death of the Father or head of the Family, the Eldest Son

Son or Male of kin ſucceeded. But time breaking in upon this way of Governing, as the World Multiplied, it fell under other Claims and Forms: And is as hard to trace to its Original, as it is the Copies we have of the Firſt writings of ſacred or Civil Matters. It is certain, the moſt natural and human is that of *Conſent*, for that finds freely (as I may ſay) when men hold their Liberty by true Obedience to rules of their own makeing. No Man is Judge in his own cauſe, which ends the Confuſion and Blood of ſo many Judges and Executioners; for out of ſociety every Man is his own King, does what he liſts at his own Peril: But when he comes to Incorporate himſelf, he ſubmits that Royalty to the Conveniency

Conveniency of the whole, from whom he receives the returns of Protection. So that he is not now his own Judge nor Avenger, neither is his Antagoniſt, but the Law in indifferent Hands between both. And if he be a Servant to others that before was free; he is alſo ſerved of others that formerly owed him no obligation. Thus, while we are not our own, every Body is ours, and we get more then we looſe; the ſafety of the Society being the ſafety of the Perticulars that conſtitute it. So that while we ſeem to ſubmit to, and hold all we have from Society, it is by Society that we keep what we have.

Government then is the *Prevention* or *Cure* of diſorder, and

and the *Means* of Juſtice, as that is of Peace; for this cauſe we have our *Seſſions*, *Terms*, *Aſſizes* and *Parliments*, to over-rule Mens Paſſions and reſentments that they may not be Judges in there own Cauſe nor Puniſhers of their own wrongs, which as it is very Incident to men in their Corrupt State, ſo, for that reaſon, they would obſerve no meaſure; nor on the other hand would any be eaſily reduced to their Duty: Not that Men know not what is right, their exceſſes, and wherein they are to blame; by no means; nothing is plainer to them: But ſo depraved is human nature, that without compulſion, ſome way or other, too many would not readily be brought to do what they know is right and fit, or avoid what they

they are ſatisfied they ſhould not do: Which brings me neer to the Point I have under taken; and for the better understanding of which I have thus briefly Treated of Peace, Juſtice and Government as a neceſſary Introduction, becauſe the wayes and methods by which Peace is preſerved in perticular Governments, will help thoſe Readers, moſt concerned in my Propoſal, to conceive with what eaſe as well as advantage the Peace of *Europe* might be procured and kept; which is the end deſigned by me, with all ſubmiſſion to thoſe Intereſted in this little Treatiſe.

Sect. 4.

## Sect. 4.

## *Of a General Peace or the Peace of* Europe, *and the means of it.*

IN my firſt Section, I ſhowed the deſireableneſs of Peace: In my next the trueſt means of it, to wit, Juſtice, not War: And in my laſt, that this Juſtice was the fruit of Government as Government it ſelf was the Reſult of Society; which firſt came from a reaſonable deſign in Men of Peace. Now if the *Soveraigne Princes* of *Europe*, that repreſent that Soveraign or

or Independent ſtate of Men that was Previous to the Obligations of Society, would for the ſame reaſon that engaged Men firſt into Society, *viz. Love of Peace and order*, agree to meet by their ſtated Deputies in a *General Diet Eſtates or Parliament*, and their Eſtabliſh Rules of Juſtice for Soveraign Princes to obſerve one to another; and this to meet yearly, or once in two or three Years at fartheſt, or as they ſhall ſee cauſe; and to be ſtiled the *Soveraign or Emperial Diet, Parliament or States of Europe*; before which Soveraign Aſſembly ſhould be brought all difference depending between one Soveraign and another, that cannot be made up by Private Embaſſys before the Seſſions begins: And that if any

of

of the Soveraignities that Conſtitute theſe Imperial States ſhall refuſe to ſubmit their Claim or Pretentions to them, or to abide and perform the Judgment thereof, and ſeek their remedy by Arms, or delay their Compliance beyond the time prefixt in their Reſolutions, all the other Soveraignties united as one ſtrength, ſhall Compel the ſubmiſſion and Performance of the ſentance, with damages to the ſuffering Party and Charges to the Soveraignities that obliged there ſubmiſſion; To be ſure *Europe* would quietly obtain the ſo much deſired and needed *Peace* to her harzaſſed Inhabitants; no Soveraignity in *Europe* having the Power, and therefore cannot ſhow the will to diſpute

pute the concluſion; and conſequently, *Peace* would be procured and Continued in *Europe*.

## Sect. 5.

### *Of the Cauſes of difference and Motives to Violate Peace.*

THere appears to me but three things upon which Peace is broken, viz. To *keep*, to *Recver*, to *Add*. Firſt to keep what is ones Right from the Invaſion of an Enemy; in which I am purely *Defenſive*. Secondly, to Recover, when I think my ſelf ſtrong enough, that which

which, by Violence, for my Anceſtors have loſt to the Arms of a ſtronger Power; in which I am Offenſive: Or laſtly to encreaſe my Dominion by the acquiſition of my Neighbours Countries, as I find them weak and my ſelf ſtrong. To gratifie which Paſſion, there will never want ſome accident or other for a Pretence: And knowing my own ſtrength I will be my *own Judge* and *Carver*. This laſt will find no Room in the *Imperial States*: They are an unpaſſable Limit to that Ambition. But the other two may come as ſoon as they pleaſe, and find the Juſtice of that Soveraign Court. And Conſidering how few there are of thoſe Sons of Prey, and how early they ſhow themſelves, may be

not once in an Age or two, this Expedient being Eſtabliſhed, the Ballance cannot well be broken.

## Sect. 6.

## *Of Titles, upon which thoſe Differences may ariſe.*

But I eaſily fore-ſee a Queſtion, that muſt be anſwered in our way, and that is this; *What is Right? Or elſe we can never know what is wrong. It is very fit that this ſhould be Eſtabiſhed.* But that is fitter for the Soveraign States to reſolve then me. And yet that I may lead away to the matter, I ſay that Title is either by a long and *undoubted Succeſſion*, as the Crowns

Crowns of *Spain*, *France* and *England*; or by *Election* as the Crown of *Poland* and the *Empire*; or by *Marriage*, as the Family of the *Stewarts* came by *England*, the *Elector of Brandenburgh* to the Dutchy of *Cleve*, and we in Antient time to divers places abroad; or by *Purchaſe*, as hath been frequently done in *Italy* and *Germany*; or by Conqueſt; as the *Turk* in *Chriſtendom*, the *Spaniards* in *Flanders*, formerly moſtly in French Hands; and the *French* in *Burgundy*, *Normandy*, *Lorrain*, *French-County*, &c. This laſt Title is, Morally ſpeaking, only queſtionable. It has indeed obtained a place among the the Rolls of Titles, but it was engroſt and recorded by the point of the Sword, & in bloody Characters. What cannot be con-

trouled or reſiſted, muſt be ſubmitted to; but all the World knows the date of the leaſt of ſuch Empires, and that they expire with the Power of the Poſſeſſer to defend them. And yet there is a litte allowed to Conqueſt too, when it has had the Sanction of Articles of Peace to confirm it: Tho that doth not alwayes extinguiſh the Fire, but it lies, like Embers under Aſhes, ready to kindle ſo ſoon as there is a fit matter prepared for it. Nevertheleſs when Conqueſt has been confirmed by a *Treaty* and concluſion of Peace, I muſt confeſs it is an adopted Title; and if not ſo genuine and natural, yet being engrafted, it is fed by that which is the ſecurity of better Titles, *Conſent*. There is but one

one thing more to be mentioned in this Section, and that is from what time Titles shall take their begining, or how far back we may look to confirm or dispute them. It would be very bould & inexcusable in me to determine so tender a point, but be it more or less time, as to the last General Peace at *Nimegen*, or to the commencing of this War, or to the time of the beginning of the Treaty of Peace; I must submit it to the great Pretenders and Masters in that affaire. But something every body must be willing to give or quit, that he may keep the rest, and by this Establishment, be for ever freed of the Necessity of loosing more.

Sect. 7.

## Sect. 7.

## *Of the Compoſition of theſe Imperial States.*

THe Compoſition and Proportion of this *Soveraign Part or Imperial State*, does, at the firſt look, ſeem to carry with it no ſmall Difficulty what Votes to allow for the inequality of the Princes and States. But with ſubmiſſion to better Judgments I cannot think it Invincible; for if it be poſſible to have an Eſtimate of the Yearly Value of the ſeveral Soveraign Countries whoſe Delegates are to

to make up this Auguſt Aſſembly, the Determination of the Number of Perſons or Votes in the States for every Soveraignity will not be Impracticable. Now that *England*, *France*, *Spain*, the *Empire*, &c. May be pretty exactly eſtimated, is ſo plain a caſe, by conſidering the Revenue of Lands, the Exports and Entries at the Cuſtome-Houſes, the Books of Rates and Surveyes, that are in all Governments, to Proportion Taxes for the ſupport of them, that the leaſt Inclination to the Peace of *Europe* will not ſtand or halt at this Objection. I will, with Pardon on all ſides, give an Inſtance, far from exact; nor do I pretend to it, or offer it for an Eſtimate; for I do it at Random; only this, as wide as it

is from the Juſt Proportion, will give ſome Aime to my Judicious Reader, what I would be at: Remembring, I deſign not by any computation, an Eſtimate from the Revenue of the Prince, but the Vallue of the Territory; the whole being concerned as well as the Prince. And a Juſter Meaſure it is to go by, ſince one Prince may have more Revenue then another that has much a Richer Country, Tho' in the Inſtance I am now about to make, the caution is not ſo neceſſary, becauſe as I ſaid before, I pretend to no manner of Exactneſs, but go wholly by Gueſs, being but for example ſake. I ſuppoſe the *Empire* of *Germany* to ſend 12. *France* 10. *Spain* 10. *Italy*, which comes to *France* 8. *England* 6. *Portugal* 3.

3. *Sweedland* 4. *Denmark* 3. *Poland* 4. *Venice* 3. the ſeven *Provinces* 4 13 *Cantons* and little neighbouring *Soveraignties*, 2 Duke of *Holſtein* and *Carland* 1. And if the *Turks* and *Muſcovites* are taken in, as ſeems but fit and Juſt, they will make 10 a piece more. The whole makes *Ninety*: A great Preſence when they repreſent the 4*th*. and now the *Beſt and wealthyeſt part of the known World*; where *Religion* and *Learning*, *Civility* and *Arts* have their Seat and Empire. But it is not abſolutely neceſſary there ſhould be alwayes ſo many Perſons, to repreſent the larger Soveraignties; for the Votes may be given by one Man of any Soveraignty as well as by ten or twelve: Tho the fuller the Aſſembly of States is, the more

solem, Effectual and free the debates will be; and the resolutions must needs come with greater Authority. The Place of their Session should be Central as much as is possible, afterwards as they agree.

## Sect. 8.

## *Of the Regulation of the Imperial States in Session.*

TO avoid Quarrel for Precedency, the Room may be Round and have divers Doors to come in and out at, to prevent exceptions. If the whole number be cast into tens, each Chusing one, they may precede by turns; to whom all speeches should

should be addressed, and who should collect the sence of the Debates, and state the Question for a Vote, which in my Opinion, should be by the *Ballat*, after the Prudent & Commendable Method of the *Venetians*; which in a great degree prevents the ill Effects of Corruption, because if any of the Delegates of that high and Mighty Estates could be so Vile, false and dishonourable as to be influenced by Money, they have the advantage of taking their Money that will give it them, and of Voteing undiscovered to the Interest of their Principals, and their own Inclination; as they that understand the *Ballating Box* do very well know. A shrode stratagem and an experimented Remedy against *Corruption*, at least against Corrupting;

rupting: For who will give their Money where they may ſo eaſily be couſened, and where it is two to one they will be ſo, for they that will take Money in ſuch caſes, will not ſtick to lye heartily to them that give it, rather then wrong their Country, when they know their lye cannot be detected.

It ſeems to me that nothing in this Imperial Parliament ſhould paſs, but by three quarters of the whole, at leaſt ſeven above the Ballance. I am ſure it helps to prevent Treachery, becauſe, if Money could ever be a temptation in ſuch a Court, it would coſt a great deal of Money to weigh down the wrong Scale. All Complaints ſhould be delivered in writing, in the Nature of Memorials; and Jour-

nals

nals kept by a proper perſon in a *Trunck* or *Cheſt*, which hath as many differing *Locks*, as there are *Tens* in the *States*. And if there were a *Clark* for each Ten, and a *Pew* or Table for theſe Clarks in the Aſſembly; and at the end off every Seſſion, one out of each Ten were appointed to examine and Compare the *Journals* of thoſe Clarks, and then lock them up as I have before expreſſed; it would be clear and Satisfactory; and each Soveraignty, if they pleaſe, as is but very fit, may have an Exemplification, or Coppy of the ſaid Memorials, and the Journals of Proceedings upon them. The *Liberty and Rules of Speech*, to be ſure they cannot fail in, who will be the Wiſeſt and Nobleſt of each Soveraignty,

for its own honour and ſafety. If any Difference can ariſe between thoſe that come from the ſame Soveraignty, that of one the Major Number do give the Rolls of that Soveraignty. I ſhould think it extreamly Neceſſary that every Soveraignty ſhould be preſent under Great Penalties, and that none leave the Seſſion without leave, till all be finiſhed; and that Nutralities in Debates ſhould by no means be endured; for any ſuch Latitude will quickly open a way to unfair Proceeding, and be followed by a train both of ſeen and unſeen Inconveniencies. I will ſay little of the *Language* in which the Seſſion of the *Soveraign Eſtates* ſhould be held, but to be ſure it muſt be in *Latin* or *French:* The firſt would

would be very well for Civilians, but the laſt moſt eaſy for Men of Quality.

## Sect. 9.

## *Of the Objections that may be advanced againſt the deſign.*

I will firſt give and anſwer the Objection that may be offered againſt my Propoſal; and in my next and laſt Section, I ſhall endeavour to ſhow ſome of the manifold Convenencies that would follow this *European League* or *Confederacy.*

The firſt of them is this, *that the ſtrongeſt and richeſt Soveraignty will never agree to it, and if it ſhould, there would be danger of Corruption more then of force at one time or other.* I anſwer to the firſt part, he is not ſtronger then all the reſt, and for that reaſon you ſhould promote this and compel him into it, eſpecially beforehe be ſo; for then it will be too late to deal with ſuch an One. To the laſt part of the Objection, I ſay the way is as open now as then; and it may be the number fewer, and as eaſily come at. However, if men of Sence and Honour and Subſtance are Choſen, they will either ſcorn the baſeneſs, or have where-with to pay for the Knavery: At leaſt they may be watch ſo, that one may be a Check upon

on the other, and all prudently limited by the Soveraignty they Repreſent. In all great points, eſpecially before a final reſolve, they may be Obliged to tranſmit to their Principals, the merrits of ſuch important caſes depending, and receive their laſt Inſtruction: Which may be done in four and twenty dayes at the moſt, as the place of their Seſſion may be appointed.

The Second is, *That it will endanger an Effeminacy by ſuch a diſuſe of the Trade of Soldiery: That if there ſhould be any need for it, upon any occaſion, we ſhould be at a Loſs as they were in Holland in* 72.

There can be no danger of Effeminacy, becauſe each Soveraignty may introduce as Temperate or Severe a diſcipline in

the Education of Youth, as they pleaſe, by low living, and due Labour. Inſtruct them in Mechanical knowledge, and in Natural Philoſophy by operation, which is the Honour of the German Nobility: This would make them Men: Neither *Women* nor *Lyons*: For *Souldiers* are t'other extream to Effeminacy. But the Knowledge of Nature, and the uſeful as well as agreeable operations of Art, give Men an underſtanding of themſelves; of the World they are born into; how to be uſeful and ſerviceable, both to themſelves and others; and how to ſave and help, not injure or deſtroy. The Knowledge of Government in general; the Perticular conſtitutions of *Europe*; and above all, of his own Country

Country are very recommending accompliſhments. This fits him for the *Parliament* and *Council* at home, and the *Courts of Princes* and *Services* in the *Imperial States* abroad. At leaſt, he is a good Common-Wealths Man, and can be uſeful to the Publick, or retire, as there may be occaſion.

To the other part of the Objection, *Of being at a loſs for Soldiery, as they were in Holland in 72.* The Propoſal anſwers for it ſelf. One has War no more then the other; and will be as much to ſeek upon occaſion. Nor is it to be thought that any one will keep up ſuch an Army after ſuch an **Umpire** is on foot, which may hazad the ſafety of the reſt. However, if it be ſeen requiſit, the Queſtion may be

askt

askt by order of the Soveraign States, why ſuch an one either raiſes or keeps up a formidable Body of Troops, and to obliege him forth with to Reform or Reduce them; leaſt any One, by keeping up a great Body of Troops, ſhould ſurprize a Neighbour. But a ſmall force in every other Soveraignty, to What it is either capable or cuſtomed to maintain, will certainly prevent that danger, and Vanquiſh any ſuch fear.

The Third Objection is, *That there will be great want of Employment, for Younger Brothers of Families; and that the Poor muſt either turn Souldiers or Thieves.* I have anſwered that in my return to the Second Objection. We ſhall have the more *Merchants* and *Husbandmen*, or *Ingenuous*

*now Naturaliſts*, if the Government be but any thing Solicitous of the *Education of their Youth*: Which, next to the preſent and Immediate Happineſs of any Country, ought, of all things, to be the care and skill of the Government. For ſuch as the Youth of a Country is bred, ſuch is the next Generation, and the Government in good or bad hands.

I am now come to the laſt Objection, *That Soveraign Princes and States will hereby become not Soveraign*; *a thing they will never be brought to.* But this alſo, under Correction, is a miſtake; for they remain as Soveraign at home as ever they were. Neither their Power over their People, nor the uſual Revenue they pay them, is diminiſhed: It may be the

the War-Eſtabliſhment may be reduced, which will indeed of courſe follow, or be better employed to the advantage of the Publick. So that the *Soveraignties* are as they were; for none of them have now any Soverignty over one another: And if this be called a leſſening of their Power, it muſt be only becauſe the *great Fiſh* can no longer eat up the little ones, and that each Soveraignty is *equally defended* from Injuries, and diſabled from Committing them. *Cedant Arma Togæ* is a Glorious ſentance, the *Voice of the Dove*, *the Olive Branch of Peace.* A bleſſing ſo great, that when it pleaſes God to Chaſtiſe us ſeverely for our Sins, it is with the *Rod of War*, that, for the moſt part, he whips

whips us: And experience tells us none leaves deeper marks behind it.

## Sect. 10.

## *Of the real Benefits that flow from this Propoſal about Peace.*

I am come to my laſt Section, in which I ſhall enumerate ſome of thoſe many real benefits that flow from this Propoſal for the Preſent and future Peace of *Europe*.

Let it not, I pray, be the leaſt, that it prevents the ſpilling of ſo

ſo much *Human and Chriſtian Blood*: For a thing ſo Offenſive to God, and terrible and Afflicting to men, as that has ever been, muſt recommend our Expedient beyond all Objections: For what can a man give in exchange for his Life, as well as his Soul? and tho the Cheifeſt in Government are ſeldom Perſonally expoſed, yet it is a duty incumbent upon them to be tender of the Lives of their People; ſince, without all doubt, they are accountable to God for the Blood that is ſpilt in their ſervice. So that beſides the loſs of ſo many lives, of Importance to any Government, both for labour and Propogation, the *Cryes* of ſo many Widows, Parents, and Fatherleſs, are prevented, that cannot be very pleaſent

pleaſent in the Ears of any Government, and is the Natural Conſequence of War in all Governments.

There is another manifeſt benefit which redounds to Chriſtendom by this Peaceable Expedient, *The Reputation of Chriſtianity will, in ſome degree, be recovered in the ſight of Infidels*, which, by the many bloody and unjuſt Wars of Chriſtians, not onely with them, but one with another, hath been greatly Impared. For, to the ſcandel of that holy Profeſſion, Chriſtians, that Glory in their Saviours Name, have long devoted the Credit and dignity of it to their worldly Paſſions, as often as they have been excited by the Impulſes of Ambition or Revenge. They have not always been in the right, nor had right

for a reason of War; and not only Christians against Christians, but the same sort of Christians have *embrewed their Hands in one anothers Blood*: Invoking and Interesting, all they could, the good and Merciful God to Prosper their Arms to their Brethrens destruction: Yet their Saviour has told them, *that he came to save and not to destroy the lives of Men*: To give and Plant *Peace* among Men. And if in any sence he may be said to send War, it is the *Holy War* indeed; for it is against the *Devil* and not the *Persons of Men*. Of all his Titles, this seems the most Glorious as well as comfortable for us, that he is the **Prince of Peace**. It is his Nature, his Office, his Work, and the end and excelling Blessing of his coming, who is both the Maker and

and Preſerver of our Peace with God. And it is very remarkable, that in all the new Teſtament he is but once called *Lyon*, but frequently the *Lamb of God*; to denote to us his *Gentle*, *Meek* and *Harmleſs Nature*; and that thoſe that deſire to be the *Deſciples* of his *Croſs and Kingdom*, for they are inſeperable, muſt be like him, as St *Paul*, St *Peter* and St *John* tell us. Nor is it ſaid the Lamb ſhall lie down with the Lyon, but the Lyon ſhall lie down with the Lamb. That is, *War* ſhall yield to *Peace*, & the Souldier turn Hermite. To be ſure *Chriſtians* ſhould not be apt to ſtrive, nor *ſwift* to *anger* againſt any Body, and leſs with one another, and leaſt of all for the uncertain and fading enjoyments of this lower World: And no quality is exempted from this Doc-

trine. Here is a wide Field for the Reverend Clergy of *Europe* to act their Part in, who have ſo much the Poſſeſſion of Princes & People too. May they recommend and Labour this Pacifick means I offer, which will end Blood, if not Strife; and then *Reaſon*, upon free debate, will be *Judge* and not the *Sword*. So that both *Right* and *Peace* which are the deſires and fruit of wiſe Governments, and the Choice bleſſings of any Country, ſeem to ſucceed the Eſtabliſhment of this Propoſal.

The Third benefit is that it ſaves *Money*, both to the Princes and People; and thereby prevents thoſe Grutchings and Miſunderſtandings between them that are wont to follow the devouring expences of War; and enables both to preform Publick

lick Acts for *Learning*, *Charity*, *Manufactories*, &c. The Virtues of Government and Ornaments of Countries. Nor is this all the Advantage that follows to *Soveraignties* upon this head of *Money* and *Good-husbandry*, to whoſe ſervice and happineſs this ſhort Diſcourſe is dedicated, for it ſaves the great expence that frequent and ſplended Embaſſies require, and all their appendages, of *Spies* and *Intelligence*, which in the moſt Prudent Governments have devoured mighty Sums of Money, and that not without ſome Immoral Practices alſo; ſuch as *Corrupting* of Servants, to betray their Maſters by revealing their Secrets; not to be defended by Chriſtian, or old Roman Virtue. But here, where there is nothing to fear, there is little

to know, and therefore the Purchaſe is either Cheep, or may be wholly ſpared. I might mention *Penſions* to the Widows and Orphans of ſuch as Dye in Wars, and of thoſe that have been diſabled in them; which riſe high in the Revenue of ſome Countries.

Our Fourth Advantage is that the *Town, Cities and Countries that might be laid waſte by the rage of War are thereby preſerved*: A bleſſing, that would be very well underſtood in *Flanders* and *Hungary*, and indeed upon all the *Borders* of Soveraignties which are almoſt ever the *Stages* of Spoiles and Miſery; of which the ſtories of *England* and *Scotland* do ſufficiently inform us without looking over the Water.

The

The *Fifth* Benefit of this Peace, is the *Eaſe and Security of Travel and Traffick*: An happineſs never underſtood ſince the *Roman Empire* has been Broken into ſo many *Soveraignties*. But we may eaſily conceive the Comfort and advantage of Travelling through the Governments of *Europe* by a *Paſs* from any of the *Soveraignties* of it, which this *League* and ſtate of Peace will Naturally make Authentick. They that have Travelled *Germany*, where is ſo great a number of *Soveraignties*, know the want and vallue of this Priviledge, by the many *Stops* and *Examinations* they meet with by the way: But eſpecially ſuch as have made the *great Tower* of *Europe*. This leads to the benefit of an *Univerſal Monarchy*,

without the Inconveniences that attend it: For when the whole was one *Empire*, (tho theſe advantages were enjoyed yet) the ſeveral *Provinces*, that now make the *Kingdoms* and *States* of *Europe*, were under ſome hardſhips from the great ſums *of Money* remitted to the Imperial ſeat, and the *Ambition* and *Avarice* of their ſeveral *Proconſuls* and *Governours*, and the Great *Taxes* they paid to the numerous *Legions* of *Souldiers* that they maintained for their own ſubjection; who were not wont to entertain that concern for them (being uncertainly there, and having their fortunes to make) which their Reſpective and proper *Soveraignties* have allways ſhown for them. So that to be Ruled by *Native Princes or States*, with the advantage

tage of that Peace and Security that can only render an *Univerſal Monarchy* deſireable, is peculiar to our Propoſal, and for that Reaſon it is to be prefered.

Another advantage is the *Great Security it will be to Chriſtians againſts the Inroads of the Turk in their moſt Proſperous fortune.* For it had been Impoſſible for the *Port* to have prevailed ſo often, and ſo far upon Chriſtendom, but by the careleſſneſs, or wilful connivance, if not aide, of ſome *Chriſtian Princes.* And for the ſame reaſon why no *Chriſtian Monarch* will adventure to Oppoſe or break ſuch an Union, the *Grand-ſeignior* will find himſelf Obliged to concur for the Security of what he holds in *Europe*: where, with all his ſtrength, he would feel it an over-match for

him. The *Prayers*, *Tears*, *Treaſon*, *Blood* and *Devaſtation*, that War has coſt in *Chriſtendom*, for theſe two laſt Ages Eſpecially, muſt add to the Credit of our Propoſal, and the bleſſing of the Peace thereby humbly recommended.

The Seventh advantage of an *European*, *Imperial Dyet*, *Parliament*, or *Eſtates*, is that it will beget and encreaſe *Perſonal Friendſhips between Princes and States*; which tends to the rooting up of Wars and planting Peace in a deep and fruitful Soyle. For Princes have the curioſity of ſeeing the Courts and Citties of other Countries as well as Private Men, if they could as ſecurely and familiarly gratify their Inclinations. It were a great Motive to the tranquility

quility of the World, that they could freely converſe Face to Face, and perſonally and reciprocally give and receive marks of Civility and Kindneſs: An Hoſpitality that leaves theſe Impreſſions behind it, will hardly let ordinary Matters prevail to miſtake or Quarral one another. Their *Emulation* would be in the Inſtances of *Goodneſs*, *Laws*, *Cuſtoms*, *Learning*, *Arts*, *Buildings*; and in Perticular thoſe that relate to *Charity*, the true Glory of ſome Governments, where Beggers are as much a rarity, as in other places it would be to ſee none.

Nor is this all the benefit that would come by this *Freedom* and *Intervew* of Princes: For *Natural*

*Affection*

*Affection* would hereby be Preſerved, which we ſee little better then loſt from the time their *Children* or *Siſters* are Married into other Courts. For the preſent State and Inſecurity of Princes forbid them the Enjoyment of that natural Comfort which is Poſſeſt by Private Families: In ſomuch, that from the time a Daughter or Siſter is Married to another Crown, Nature is ſubmitted to Intereſt, and that, for the moſt part, grounded not upon ſolid or commendable Foundations, but *Ambition* or an *Unjuſt Avarice*. I ſay this Freedom that is the Effect of our Pacifick Propoſal, reſtores *Nature* to her Juſt right and dignity in the Families of Princes, and then

then to the Comfort ſhe brings wherever ſhe is preſerved in her Proper ſtation. Here *Daughters* may Perſonal entreat their *Parents*, and *Siſters* their *Brothers*, for a good underſtand between them and their *Huſbands*, where Nature, not Cruſht by abſence and Siniſter Intereſts, but active by the ſight and lively Entreaties of ſuch near Relations, is almoſt ſure to prevail. They cannot eaſily reſiſt, the moſt affectional addreſſes of ſuch powerful Soliciters, as their *Children* and *Grand-Children*, and their *Siſters*, *Nephews* & *Neices*. And ſo backwards from *Children to Parents*, and *Siſters* to *Brothers*, to keep up and Preſerve their own Families, by a good underſtanding between their Husbands & them.

To conclude this Section, there is yet another Manifeſt Priviledge that follows this *intercourſe* and good underſtanding, which me thinks ſhould be very moving with Princes, viz. *That hereby they may Chooſe Wives for themſelves*, ſuch as they love; and not by *Proxy*, meerly to gratefie Intereſt, an Ignoble motive; and rarely begets or continues that *Kindneſs* which ought to be between Men and their Wives: A Satisfaction very few Princes ever knew, and to which all other pleaſures ought to reſign: Which has often Obliged me to think that, *The Advantage of Private Men upon Princes, by Family Comforts, is a ſufficient Ballance againſt their greater Power and Glory*: The one being more in *Imagination*

*gination*, then *real*, and often *Unlawful*; but the other *Natural*, *Solid* and *Commendable*: Besides, it is certain, Parents loveing well before they are Married, which very rarely happens to Princes, *has kind and Generous Influences upon their Offspring*; which, with their example, makes them the better Husbands and Wives in their turn. This, in Great Measure, Prevents *Unlawful Love*; and the Mischief of those Intreagues that are wont to follow them? What *hatred*, *Feuds*, *Wars* and *Desolations* have in divers Ages, flown from *Unkindness* between *Princes* and their *Wives*? What *unnatural divisions* among their Children, and Ruin to their Families if not loss of their Countries by it? Behold an expedient

to prevent it, a Natural, an Efficacious one: Happy to Princes, and Happy to their People alſo: For Nature being renewed and ſtrengthened by theſe mutual pledges and Endearments, have Mentioned, will leave thoſe ſoft and kind Impreſſions behind, in the minds of Princes, that *Court* and *Country* will very Eaſily diſcern and feel the Good Effects of it: Eſpecially if they have the Wiſdom to ſhow that they Intereſt themſelves in the Proſperity of the Children & Relations of their Princes. For it does not only Incline them to be good, but engage thoſe Relations to become Powerful Sutors to their Princes for them, if any Miſunderſtanding ſhould unhappily ariſe between them and their *Sovereigns*.

*veraigns*. Thus ends this Section. It now reſts to Conclude the diſcourſe, in which, if I have not pleaſed my *Reader* or anſwered his expectation, it is ſome Comfort to me, I meant well, and have coſt him but little Money and time; and brevity is an Excuſe, if not a Virtue, where the ſubject is not agreable, or is but ill proſecuted.

# The Conclusion.

I will Conclude this my Proposal of an *European*, *Soveraign*, or *Imperial Dyet*, *Parliament* or *Estates*, with that which I have toucht upon before, and which falls under the notice of every one concerned, by comeing home to their Perticular and Respective experience within their own *Soveraignties*. That the *same Rules of Justice and Prudence*, by which Parents and Masters Govern their Families, and Magistrates their Cities, and Estates their Republicks, and Princes and Kings their Principalities and Kingdoms, *Europe* may *Obtain*

*tain* and Preſerve peace among the Soveraignties. For Wars are the *Duells* of Princes; and as Government in Kingdoms and States prevents men being *Judges and Executioners for themſelves*, over-rules private Paſſions as to Injuries or Revenge, and Subjects the great as well as the ſmall to the Rule of Juſtice, that Power might not Vanquiſh or Oppreſs Right, nor one Neighbour act an *Independency and Soveraignty* upon another, while they have reſigned that Original Claim to the benefit and Comfort of Society; ſo this being ſoberly weighed in the whole, and parts of it, It will not be hard to conceive or frame, nor yet to execute the deſign I have here propoſed.

And for the better under-

ſtanding

ſtanding and Perfecting of the *Idea* I here Preſent to the *Sovereign Princes and Eſtates of Europe*, for the ſafety and Tranquility of it, I muſt recommend to their Peruſal *Sr William Temple*'s *Account of the United Provinces*; which is an Inſtance and anſwer, *upon Practice*, to all the Objections that can be advanced againſt the Practicability of my Propoſal; Nay, it is an *Experiment* that not only comes up to our caſe, but exceeds the difficulties that can render its accompliſhment diſputable. For there we ſhall find *Three degrees* of Soveraignties, to make up every Soveraignty in the *General States*. I will reckon them backwards. Firſt the *States General* themſelves: Then the *Immediate Soveraignties* that conſtitute them, which

which are thoſe of the *Provinces*; anſwerable to the *Soveraignties* of *Europe*, that by their *Deputies* are to Compoſe the *European Dyet*, *Parliament* or *Eſtates* in our Propoſal. And then there are the ſeveral *Cities* of each Province that are ſo many *Independant* or *diſtinct* Soveraignties, which Compoſe thoſe of the *Provinces* as *Tohſe* of the Provinces do compoſe the *States General* at the *Hague*.

But I confeſs I have the Paſſion to wiſh heartily that the honour of Propoſeing and Effecting ſo great and good a deſign might be owing to *England* of all the Countries in *Europe*, as ſomething of the nature of our expedient was, in deſign and preparation, to the Wiſdom, Juſtice and Valler of *Henry* the *fourth*

of

*of France*; whose superior Qualities raising his Character above those of his Ancestors or Contemporaries, deservedly gave him the stile of *Henry the Great*. For he was upon *Obligeing the Princes and Estates of Europe to a Politick Ballance*, when the *Spanish Faction*, for that reason, contrived, and accomplished his *Murder* by the hands of *Ravillack*. I will not then fear to be censured for Proposeing an *Expedient* for the Present and future Peace of *Europe*, when it was not only the *Design* but *Glory* of one of the Greatest Princes that ever reigned in it; and is found practicable in the constitution of one of the wisest and Powerfullest States of it. So that to conclude I have very little to answer for in all this affaire,

affaire, becauſe, if it ſucceed, I have ſo little to deſerve: For this great *King's Example* tells us it is fit to be done; and Sr. *W. Temple*'s Hiſtory ſhews us, by a Surpaſſing Inſtance, that it may be done; and *Europe*, by her incomparable Miſeries, makes it neceſſary to be done; that my ſhare is only thinking of it at this Juncture, and putting it into the common Light for the Peace and proſperity of *Europe*.

FINIS.